To a large extent, underlying structures are mapped onto quite diverging surface representations through long chains of structural changes. Several details are not yet quite clear and have to be rechecked on the basis of further field work. A preliminary analysis of the morphophonemic structure of the Dasenech verb is made in Sasse (forthcoming) from which the following basic assumptions are drawn.

M-1: Long vowels are not permitted in final syllables of polysyllabic words, regardless of whether they are open or close. Thus, the intensive form of *naa* (form A imperfect of /na?/, 'do') is *nanna*, rather than **nan-naa*, that of *naat* (subjunctive subjective of /na?/, 'do') is *nannat* rather than **nannaat*. For an exception to this rule, see under noun plural below).

M-2: The occurrence of a word-final glottal stop is governed by a similar rule. It is not permitted in words other than monosyllabic: *ná?* (imperative singular of /na?/, 'do'), but *nánna* (from underlying /nán+na?/).

M-3: Non-geminated *k*, *b*, *?*, and *h* are deleted postvocalically within a phonological word: /seeb+u/ → *seeu* 'leather straps' (cf. sg. *seeb*); /birrik+n+a+y+a/ → *birrinaya* 'I make sour' (cf. *birrik* 'sour', /he#me?#ka/ → *he-me-ka* 'he is sweet/ (cf. in isolation *me?* 'sweet/).

M-4: *s* is deleted before *m*: /zagas+m+a/ → *zagama* 'I see'.

M-5: *t*-assimilation: *t* fully assimilates to preceding *l*, *n*, *y*; *s* fully assimilates to following *t*; *mt* and *rt* are fused to *nn* and *DD*, resp. Examples: /maal+t+a → *maalla* 'you hear', 'tuun+t+a/ → *tuunna* 'you beat', /zaaby+t+a/ → *zaayya* 'you sew', /?ees+t+i/ → *?eetti* 'you asked', /zagas+am+t+a/ → *zagasanna* 'you see', /fuur+t+a/ → *fuuDDA* 'you open'.

M-6: Initial consonant clusters are a priori ruled out by a morpheme structure condition, and never develop through concatenation (with one possible exception[4]). For medial and final clusters the following rules obtain: The only medial clusters allowed are (1) *r*, *l*, *n* + non-glottalized non-coronal stops or *s*, *š*, *f*; (2) *r*, *l*, *d*, *z* + *m*; (3) glides (*y*, *w*) + *r*, *l*, *n*; (4) *r*, *l*, *n* + *tt* (if and only if there is a morpheme boundary between *r*, *l*, *n* and following *tt*). Furthermore the geminate clusters *ll*, *rr*, *nn*, *yy*, and *tt* may occur in lexical representations. Final clusters are not allowed in surface representations at all. All disallowed clusters are broken by an epenthetic vowel, which is a copy of the preceding vowel when there is no morpheme boundary, and *i* (sometimes *u* after *u*) when there is a morpheme boundary between the consonants concerned. Note that rules M-3 through M-5 take precedence over cluster breaking. Examples: /kolm/ → *kolom* 'small river/ (cf. pl. *kolmu* /kolm+u/) /?árg/ → *?árag* 'see!', /far+c/ → *faric* 'horse', /laf+tti/ → *lafitti* 'bone', /muur+ɲ/ → *muuriɲ* 'not to cut' (negative imperfect stem of *mur-* 'to cut').

M-7: Non-geminate /t/ becomes *z* intervocalically: sing. *sít* 'bring!', pl. *sizá* /sit+á/.

M-8: Vowel harmony:
(a) e/o-harmony: Every *a* (regardless of length) preceded or followed immediately by a syllable containing *e* or *o* is fully assimilated to *e* or *o*, resp. Cf. the imperative plural ending /á/: *sizá* 'bring!', *leezé* 'go down!', but *koró* 'climb!'
(b) u-harmony: Short *a* that is not word initial is partially assimilated to *o* by a following *u*, cf. *foDu* 'knives' from underlying /faD+u/ (sing. *faaDDi*). This process seems to be non-automatic, since it does not occur in the subjunctive forms of many verbs, cf. *rafu* (rather than **rofu*) from the stem *raf-* 'to spend the night'. (For an exception to vowel harmony, see under noun plural below.)

M-9: If two adjacent syllables both begin with a glottal consonant (*ʔ*, *h*), the second glottal dissimilates to *g*, e.g., /hi+hit+a/⟶*higiza*, intensive of *hit-* 'to tie'.

M-10: Degemination: Whereas *rr*, *ll*, *nn*, *yy* are always stable, other geminates such as *tt*, *ff*, *mm*, and *zz* are subject to optional degemination. For some consonants the possibility of gemination is linked with the morphological status of the form. E.g., *s* is geminated in some plural forms such as *Gassu* (pl. of *Gas* 'foot') and is never degeminated here, but it is simple in intensive forms (*seseme* from *seeme*), although other consonants have gemination here (cf. *faffalma* from *faalma*). Since gemination and degemination seem to depend also on speech style, individual behavior, and similar factors, a thorough statistical investigation is necessary in order to clear up these inconsistencies.

	I	II	III
	impf.	perf.	juss.
1s	(h)a	yáá	-
2s	(h)a	kúó	-
3m	(h)a i	(h)é	(h)í
3f	(h)a i	(h)é	(h)í
1pi	(h)a ki	(h)é kí	kí
1pe	(h)a ɲi	ɲaaɲi	(ɲí)
2p	(h)a i	ʔittí	-

Bracketed h is underlying /h/ with its normal phonetic exponents, which is deleted if preceded by another segment, e.g., ha-laama 'I throw', but waar a-laama 'I throw a stone'. The perfect selector series is the most general one, in addition to the perfect; it is used for all negative expressions as well as for adjectives. In addition to the above selectors, Dasenech uses (h)a for 2s and (h)a i for 2p negative imperative.

Examples of the use of selectors:

Series I: Imperfect:

Imperfect:

ha-muura	'I cut'
ha-ʔaargiDDa	'you see'
ha-i-fuura	'he opens' (or 'they (m.) open')
ha-i-laanna	'she throws' (or 'they (f.) throw')
ha-ki-raffama	'we (incl.) spend the night'
ha-ɲi-maalla	'we (excl.) hear'

Series II:

Perfect:

yáá-furi	'I opened'
kúó-ʔargiyyi	'you saw'
hé-muri	'he cut' (or 'they (m.) cut')
ɲááɲi-ʔetti	'we (excl.) waited'
hé-kí-rafi	'we (incl.) spent the night'

Negative:

yáá-má-fuuriɲ	'I do not open'
kúó-ma-fúriɲ	'you did not open'
hé-má-muuriɲ	'he does not cut'
hé-kí-ma-múriɲ	'we (incl.) did not cut'

Adjectival:

yáá guddu-ka	'I am big'
kúó guddu-ka	'you are big'

3.2. Some Remarks on Noun and Adjective Morphology

The gender markers m. -*(i)c*, f. -*(i)tti*/-*ti* appear to be closely related to Oromo m. -*ica*, f. -*ittii* or m. -*sa* (< -*ta*), f. -*t(t)ii*. All these endings were originally combined singulative and gender markers and have retained this original function to some extent.

The plural ending -*u* seems to be related to Oromo and Somali -*o(o)*. Gemination of the stem-final consonant is found outside Dasenech in Konsoid and Somali (also see note 7). -*aa* occurs as a plural ending mainly in Konsoid, -*ee* is found in Oromo in several combinations with other endings. Of the remaining plural markers, none bears a direct relationship to any plural morpheme in another East Cushitic language discovered so far.

The plural formation of adjectives by partial duplication, similar to the duplication types found in intensive verb stems, is a common Cushitic phenomenon (also see note 8).

The genitive suffix -*iet* is clearly related to Somali -*eed* which appears in the same class of feminine nouns. At the moment it is not possible to judge whether these two have anything to do with other *t* genitives found in several Cushitic languages.

3.4. Verb Morphology

A comparison of the personal endings of the Dasenech verb with the common Cushitic set of these endings reveals the fact that Dasenech reduced the number of person distinctions to two, retaining, however, the traditional 'interlocking pattern' in a somewhat altered fashion:

	Common Cushitic	Dasenech
1s	V	V
2s	tV	tV
3ms	V	V
3fs	tV	tV
1p	nV	tV
2p	tVn	tV
3p	Vn	V

The first point is the apparent merger of the *tV* and *nV* endings. This may be explained by assuming a real merger of the outputs of two different underlying structures, viz. /C+t/ and /C+n/ both → CC, originating in verbs with final *n*, *m*, *l*. Cf. for instance,

Somali	/lun+taa/	→	luntaa
	/lun+naa/	→	lunnaa
	/fal+taa/	→	faltaa
	/fal+naa/	→	fallaa
Dasenech	/tuun+ta/	→	tuunna
	*/tuun+na/	→	tuunna
	/Daal+ta/	→	Daalla
	*/Daal+na/	→	Daalla

The output of the starred forms, then, must have been reinterpreted as containing the tV ending, the original underlying structure being abandoned, i.e., replaced by a new restructured form. This replacement process, once completed for a limited class of verbs, spread over the whole conjugation, covering not only all the verbs in which the *t* and *n* endings did not originally fall together in one surface representation, but also the prefix verbs, where merger is a priori excluded by the fact that person morphs occur as prefixes and never fuse with the stem.

The second point is the loss of the plural ending -*n* in 2p and 3p. It is improbable that the new system arose through the operation of a general phonological rule, viz. loss of final *n*, since no other cases where *n* disappears can be found elsewhere in the language. It may well be that these forms are originally singular forms and that the whole paradigm is one of the 'restrictive' type found in other East Cushitic languages.

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